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**PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
HOW IT WILL IMPACT THE NEW WORLD ORDER
AND THE AMERICAN STRATEGY**

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

BY

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ABSTRACT

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April, 15, 1992

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INTRODUCTION

1. Since the rise of international conflict, there have been rules that control it. These rules change as a result of the international situation. In the modern era and during the second half of the twentieth century a great scientific revolution started that canceled distances and led to the interlace of interests between countries. It is clear now that anything happening in any part of the world affects and gets affected by what happens in the other parts of the world.

2. In the last decade the world has seen a lot of political changes that reflected new features for the world order, which showed the importance of establishing new bases and rules for international relations which are based on international law, and new priorities based on the balance of interests rather than the balance of power.

3. Since the Middle East is considered one of the hottest regions in the world, and at the same time a region of vital interest to several international players, the importance of protecting regional security and stability under the umbrella of a new world order has emerged. This regional security will lead to the protection of international security and stability, and protection

of international vital interests. Since the Arab- Israeli conflict is the main reason for instability in the region, the United States held a peace conference between the Arabs and Israel, in Madrid on October 30, 1991.

4. PURPOSE OF THE PAPER

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the implications of peace in the Middle East on the new world order, and to discuss this impact on US strategy for the region.

5. ASSUMPTIONS

The research assumptions in this paper are :

a. The existence of a close connection between the regional security of the Middle East and international security;

b. The Middle East region is a region of interlacing interests for different regional and international actors;

c. The region is exposed to several threats, of which the Arab-Israeli conflict is the main source of threat to the stability of the region; and,

d. Either directly or indirectly, regional and international change affects the security of the region. These changes call for:

(1) Setting a new world order that is being tested for the first time in solving the Arab-Israeli conflict; and,

(2) Making alterations in the American strategies for the region;

e. Regional stability is connected with current events at the peace conference. Nobody can predict the results of the conference because the spirit of the negotiators is based on evasion and maneuvering.

6. ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

The paper has been divided into an introduction, four parts, a conclusion and a recommendation, as follows:

- a. Introduction.
- b. Part I, Threats and challenges to the peace in the region.
- c. Part II, peace settlement.
- d. Part III, Effect on a new world order.
- e. Part IV, Impact in US strategy for the region.
- f. Conclusions and recommendations.

PART I
THE THREATS AND CHALLENGES
FOR
THE PEACE IN THE REGION

7. The Middle East region has a lot of advantages that can be described as follows:

a. An important, strategic, geographical position, as it is in the center of the old and modern world. This position controls five sea straits that are choke points for transiting the Middle East. These straits are:

The Straits of Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, the Bab El Mandab, the Straits of Hormoz, and the Straits of Tiran.

b. The majority of the inhabitants have the same religion which is Islam, and most of them speak the same language which is Arabic. This results in the improvement of relationships between the countries and increases the possibility of overcoming the problems between them.

c. There are many natural resources in the region, especially oil; the region produces about 40% of world production, and contains about 66% of the free world's proven oil reserves¹.

¹Central Intelligence Agency, Handbook of Economic Statistics (Directorate of Intelligence, 1991) P 94; Central Intelligence Agency, International Energy Statistical Review (Directorate of Intelligence, 25 February 1992) P 1.

What increases the importance of the region's oil is the closeness of the oil resources to the main sea lanes.

d. The Middle East region is considered the cradle of ancient civilizations (Pharonic-Ashorian-Hamirian) which appeared before the Chinese, Indian and Greek civilizations. Culture and civilization has spread from the Middle East to both the eastern and western worlds.

e. This region is the center for the three monotheistic religions (Islam-Christianity-Judaism). It is of great religious importance to believers because it includes the holy places of all three religions, and is a center for pilgrimage.

8. These advantages were a main element in attracting the attention and greed of different countries throughout history, which sought to control the region by forcing the countries to adopt ways and means which protected the invader's economic and security interests. This was a main source of threat to the region from the era of Alexander the Great, through the passing of the Poman and Persian empires, the Islamic openings, the Crusades, the Colonial era, and the competition of the super powers, to the present.

THE THREATS THAT AFFECT THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF THE REGION

9. The Middle East region faces several additional threats:

a. The Arab-Israeli conflict forms the corner stone in threats to the region. Peace and security of the region might be

achieved, if this conflict comes to an end. Therefore this conflict will be analyzed in detail later.

b. Border disputes between countries in the region leads sometimes to military confrontation. These disputes exist, for example, between Bahrain and Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Iran, Iran and Iraq, Iraq and Kuwait, Egypt and Sudan, the Horn of Africa (Sudan and Ethiopia, Somalia and Ethiopia). Above all comes Israel's disputes with her neighbors, Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinians.

c. Internal conflicts in the region directly effect the security and stability of the region. Some examples are Lebanon (which gave Israel the chance and the excuse to invade South Lebanon, which helped to add more complications to the Arab-Israeli conflict), the Palestinian Intefadeh in Israel, Somalia, Sudan, and recently Algeria.

d. Minority problems, especially the Kurdish problem in Iraq, Turkey and Iran.

e. These problems lead to a major threat to the countries in the region, which is the ARMS RACE among neighboring countries. This race includes conventional and non-conventional weapons. In irresponsible hands, these weapons could lead to disaster not only for the region, but throughout the world.

f. International terrorism, whether indirectly state sponsored, or performed by an agency of the state itself.

g. Interests of outside powers, and the competition among them to attract the governing systems in the region. This leads to

ideological conflicts among countries of the region.

10. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT²

a. 1897: On August 29, the first Zionism congress was held in Basel (Switzerland), with 204 delegates from all over the world. This assembly called for establishing a Jewish home land in Palestine which speeded the emigration of the European Jews to there.

b. 1917: On November 2, on behalf of the British Government, Foreign Minister Arthur James Balfour sent a letter to Lord Rothschild "Balfour Declaration". In this letter Balfour stated:

His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The British cabinet issued this declaration to win the Jewish support during the war. This declaration promised a national home, not a state, for the Jewish people and assured the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish population in Palestine (about 90% of the total population at that time). Besides this

² Harry B. Ellis, The Dilemma of Israel, United States Interests in the Middle East (American Enterprise Institute, October 1970) Passim; Henry Cattán, The Palestine Question. Croom Helm, (London, New York, Sydney, 1988) Passim; Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. (Published by Prentice Hall, 1991) Passim.

declaration the UK had made two other commitments during the war. The first was the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 with France in which they agreed to divide the Middle East after the war between themselves. " France was to exercise authority in Syria and Lebanon, while Britain was to control Palestine and Iraq". The second was a promise of independence to the Arabs in return for their revolt against the Turks (Hussein-McMahon correspondence).

c. 1922 July 24: The Council of the League of Nations decided to put Palestine under the British mandate. This helped the mandatory government to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine under suitable conditions and to put the Balfour Declaration into effect.

d. 1936: The Palestinian resistance movement started rejecting British domination and Jewish emigration to Palestine.

e. 1938: Great Britain suggested dividing Palestine into two countries, Arab and Jewish; the Jewish minority agreed and the Arabs disagreed.

f. 1939: Another British suggestion called for establishing one country with an Arab majority. The Arabs showed readiness to accept this solution but the Jews rejected it. World War II put an end to all political initiatives.

g. During World War II the Jews rushed to Palestine in tremendous amounts escaping from the Nazi's slaughters.

h. 1947: The Jews continue the immigration to Palestine. On November 29, 1947 the United Nations (General Assembly) issued

Resolution 181(II)³ recommended dividing Palestine into an Arab country and a Jewish one, and making Jerusalem an international city. The Jews accepted the resolution, Ben Gurion said "Its a good start", but the Arabs rejected it.

i. 1948: On May 14, the British mandate in Palestine was over and the Jews announced the establishment of the state of Israel. With this announcement the flame of the first Arab-Israeli war sparkled and hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled from their homes, or were expelled, during the war⁴. The UN issued several resolutions⁵ concerning this conflict during 1948, the most important ones were as follow:

(1) Security Council Resolution No.49 of 22 May 1948: Calling for a cease-fire in Palestine;

(2) Security Council Resolution No.50 of 29 May 1948: Calling for a cessation of all military activities for four weeks and for the protection of the Holy Places;

(3) Security Council Resolution No.61 of 4 November 1948: Calling for the withdrawal of forces and the establishment of permanent truce lines;

³George J. Tomeh, United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Volume One 1947-1974 (Washington, D.C. Institute for Palestine Studies, 1975) P 4; United Nations, Year book of the United Nations 1947-1948 (Department of Public Information) Pp 247-257.

⁴ About 70 percent of the Arab population(600,000 to 760,000)

⁵George J. Tomeh, United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Volume One 1947-1974 (Washington, D.C. Institute for Palestine Studies, 1975) P 15 & 126-130.

(4) Security Council Resolution No.62 of 16 November 1948: Deciding on the establishment of an Armistice in all sectors of Palestine;

(5) General Assembly Resolution No.194(III) of 11 December 1948: Establishing a UN Conciliation Commission, resolving that Jerusalem should be placed under a permanent international regime, and resolving that the refugees should be permitted to return to their homes;

(6) Security Council Resolution No.66 of 29 December 1948: Calling for an immediate cease-fire and implementation of Security Council resolutions;

j. 1949: Israel signed an armistice with the Arab countries and kept more of the Palestinian land than the UN had proposed in Resolution 181(II) including the western part of Jerusalem.

k. 1956: Israel started an aggressive war against Egypt in collusion with both Britain and France, during which it occupied the Sinai and the Gaza Strip. On 2 November 1956 the UN General Assembly issued Resolution No.997(ES-I)⁶ calling on France and the United Kingdom to agree to a cease-fire and on Israel to withdraw behind the armistice lines. Israel was forced to withdraw in 1957 under the pressure of the United Nations, sponsored by the United States who had opposed the triple aggression.

l. 1964: On May 28, the Palestinian National Congress convened at Jerusalem and proclaimed the establishment of the

⁶United Nations, Year Book of the United Nations 1956 (Columbia University Press in co-operation with the United Nations) P 29.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and provided for the formation of Palestine Liberation Army (PLA). The objective of the PLO was to liberate the land of Palestine, and to establish a democratic state in which Moslems, Christians, and Jews can live together enjoying equal rights and undergo the same duties. In order to achieve that, the PLO adopted guerrilla operations against Israel.

m. 1967: On June 5, The flame of the third round sparked between the Arabs and Israel in which Israel was able to occupy the Sinai, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Eastern Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights. On November 22, 1967, the Security Council announced Resolution No.242, which was adopted unanimously.

Stating the Principles of Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East

The Security council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. Affirms that the fulfillment of Carter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. Affirms further the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible⁷.

n. 1967-1973: Egypt launched commando attacks and shelled Israeli positions across the Suez Canal. In October 1968 an Egyptian Guided Missile Attack Boat sank the Israeli destroyer Eilat, Israel responded with a retaliatory raid on an Oil refinery in Suez. In the spring of 1969 Nasser announced that the "War of Attrition" was officially launched. Egyptians bombarded the fortifications of the Bar-Lev line repeatedly in an effort to destroy them and Egyptian commando units continued to cross the Suez Canal to sabotage and harass. In mid 1969 Israel began to bomb Egyptian gun emplacements on the West Bank of the Suez Canal and to undertake deep-penetration raids into Egyptian territory. This war was costly to both sides. In December 1969, Secretary of State William Rogers proclaimed that U.S policy henceforth would be more "evenhanded". In June 1970 the Rogers Plan was announced. The cease-fire along the Canal came into effect in August 1970.

⁷George J. Tomeh, United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Volume One 1947-1974 (Washington, D.C. Institute for Palestine Studies, 1975) P 143; United Nations, Year Book of the United Nations 1967 (New York, Office of Public Information) P 257-258.

This cease-fire allowed Israel to continue building the Bar-Lev line and gave Egypt the time to prepare for the 1973 War.

o. 1973: On the 6th of October, The flame of the fourth round sparkled between the Arabs and Israel. Egypt and Syria attacked the Israeli-occupying forces in Sinai and on the Golan Heights. On October 22, 1973 the Security Council announced Resolution No.338, which was adopted by 14 Members.

Calling for a Cease-Fire and for the Implementation of Resolution 242 in all of its Parts

The Security Council,

1. Calls upon all parties to the present fighting to cease all fighting and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the position they occupy;

2. Calls upon the parties concerned to start immediately after the cease-fire the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts;

3. Decides that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East⁸.

The fighting ceased and an International peace conference was held in December, 1973. It ended in failure after one meeting.

p. 1974: American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger mediated the disengagement of the forces between Israel and Egypt and between Israel and Syria.

q. 1977: President Anwar Al Sadat made a surprise visit to Jerusalem. He was the first president of an Arab country to visit Israel, destroying the psychological wall in the path of peace.

⁸George J. Tomeh, United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Volume One 1947-1974 (Washington D.C. Institute for Palestine Studies, 1975) P 151.

r. 1978: In September the leaders of the USA, Egypt and Israel met in Camp David for 12 days. They agreed to frame a peace in two parts; the first one, a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel which gives back Sinai to Egypt and establishes normal relations between the two countries. The second part included a proposal for negotiations between Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians to establish autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and a transition period of five years to reach the final settlement of the Palestinian problem. It also recommended Jordan and Israel to sign a peace treaty in the same period. But no progress has occurred concerning this second part.

s. 1979: In March, the Camp David peace treaty was signed between Egypt and Israel, guaranteed by the USA. Israel started its withdrawal from the Sinai.

t. 1981: Israel bombed Iraq's nuclear reactor and annexed the Israeli-held portions of the Golan Heights.

u. 1982 on June 3: After completing its withdrawal from the Sinai, Israel invaded Lebanon aiming to eliminate the PLO fighters in southern Lebanon and create a secure zone up to 25 miles north of the Israeli borders. After shelling Beirut for two months and causing many civilian casualties, the Israelis entered the city in August and the PLO withdrew from Beirut.

v. 1987: The Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza Strip started an Uprising "Intefadeh" that is still going on, in spite of Israeli attempts to put it down. This has attracted the world's attention to the Palestinian problem.

w. 1991: After the Gulf War was over and the position of the Soviet Union was changed, the United States again attempted to find a settlement in the Middle East. To achieve this, the American Secretary of State made eight consecutive visits to the region. Finally he convinced the countries to negotiate. On 30 October in Madrid the first session was held under the supervision of both the USA and the USSR. This is the first time since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict that both the Arabs and the Israelis met face to face in negotiations to settle the peace between them.

THE CHALLENGES THAT FACES THE REGION

11. Besides the threats that affect the peace and stability in the Middle East, there are several challenges that face the countries of the region which are not less in importance:

a. Overcoming the psychological wall between the countries of the region, and working with them to reach an acceptable format for a just and lasting peace in the region.

b. Working to solve the economic problems, and building a type of economic integration among the countries of the region,

especially since there is a big difference in the distribution of wealth in the region.

c. Working to solve the water problem by cooperation between the countries of the region, and trying to avoid another war in the region as a result of the water problem.

d. Limiting the arms race between countries of the region, working to make the region free from weapons of mass destruction, and directing the capital spent on the arms race to productive projects that returns benefits to the nations of the region.

PART II

PEACE SETTLEMENT

Besides the threats and challenges that face the peace and stability in the Middle East, there are other external factors that affect the establishment of peace in the Middle East. The main factors are the interests of the outside powers in the region, the changes in the USSR and its reflections on the security of the region, the Gulf War and its reflection on the region, and the world order and its role in solving international conflicts. In this part these factors will be discussed, trying to reach some of the bases that a lasting, just peace in the region must be built on.

12. THE INTERESTS OF THE OUTSIDE POWERS IN THE REGION '

a. THE INTERESTS OF THE USA:

The US interests in the Middle East can be summarized as follows:

(1) Security interests

Appears in five main directions: First, the protection of American citizens in the region; Second, facilities for the Sixth Fleet in the ports of the Eastern side of the Mediterranean Sea.

⁹Regional Strategic Appraisals, Middle East . Advanced courses HEIGHTS; Dr Mahmoud Hafez, The strategy of the west in the Arab Nation (Cairo, 1958) Passim; Harry B. Ellis, The Dilemma of Israel, United States Interests in the Middle East (Published by American Enterprise Institute, October 1970) Passim.

This fleet has an important role in correcting any political or military imbalance in the region, in securing the southern flank of the NATO Pact, and protecting the sea lanes for Arab oil heading to Europe; Third, US military presence in the Mediterranean Sea to secure American and western interests and stop the expansion of the USSR's power; Fourth, security and survivability of Israel; Fifth, the establishment of stability in the region through supporting friendly and moderate states and trying to contain the radical ones. The USA also seeks to maintain its prestige and its credibility in solving regional conflicts.

(2) Economic interests

Appears in three main factors: First, the importance of oil. It is the main source of energy for most of the countries of Western Europe, and Japan; The US also has investments in the oil of the region. Second, the security of the Sea Lines of Communication; Third, the importance of the countries of the region as a consumer market for American, Western and Japanese products.

b. THE INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Russia, in spite of the internal collapse of the USSR, is trying to protect its interests in the world. Because of the geographic closeness of the Middle East to the former Soviet Union, this region was of great importance to the Soviet national security. The Soviet Union's interest can be summarized as

follows:

(1) Security interests

There are three major interests. The first is securing the southern borders of the Soviet Union. The Soviets believed the most effective way to achieve this was a military presence in the region. This is why it sent a great naval force centered in the Mediterranean Sea and secured military facilities in some ports of the Mediterranean countries (Syria, Libya, Algeria). The second, it seeks to make the region free from any military bases or pacts in favor of the western powers. The third is the Soviet Union's desire to reach warm water ports. This is a historical cause which continues to be evidenced by Russian attempts to win access to the Eastern Mediterranean shore, its presence in the Red Sea, the Arab Sea and the Indian Ocean.

(2) Economic interests

The Russians have tried to play a role similar to the American, to protect its international political weight and to use this weight to share the treasures of the region with the West. In addition, the region forms a consumer market for Soviet products, especially weapons. In addition, the former Soviet Union and the new Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) have tried to encourage Arab petroleum money to invest in its territory.

C. THE INTERESTS OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

(1) Arab oil is considered the main source of energy for most European countries, so ensuring the continuation of its flow

is considered an important factor to European National security.

(2) The Middle East is considered a strategic depth for Europe (France rebuilt its armed forces in Algeria during World War II, and the Iranian revolution started in Europe), so the security and stability of the region forms an extension of the stability and security of Europe and vice versa.

(3) The geographical location of maritime trade routes through the region makes it of great strategic importance economically and militarily to the European countries.

(4) The region forms a huge consumer market for the European products.

d. The forgoing interests of the outside powers in the region are considered a strong motive for these powers to work together to achieve the stability of the region in order to safeguard their interests in it.

13. THE EFFECTS OF CHANGES IN THE SOVIET UNION ON THE SECURITY OF THE REGION

The effects are three. The first is the emigration of the Soviet Jews to Israel; the second, the presence of large numbers of unemployed Soviet scientists in several fields, especially the nuclear area, who are ready to contract with any country or organization that can pay for them; the third, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has a large quantity of weapons of all kinds, ready for sale.

a. The emigration of the Soviet Jews to Israel¹⁰:

The predicted number of the Soviet Jews who are going to emigrate to Israel till 1996 varies between 700 thousand (by the Israelis) to over a million (by the Palestinian Arabs). This number forms about 20 to 25 percent of the Israeli population. Accompanying this plan are several procedures to reduce Arab population density in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israel said that they won't settle the immigrants in the West Bank or Gaza Strip. This may be true, but it doesn't mean that they are going to stop building settlements in the occupied territories for residents of pre-1967 Israel. This would allow settlement of the new emigrants in old lands vacated by the settlers, the combination of these events would effect negatively the chances for peace.

b. The unemployed Soviet scientists:

The presence of thousands of Soviet scientists that are ready to contract with any country or organization which can pay for them, raises the spirit of competition between the countries of the region to contract with these scientists to narrow the technology gap between the Arabs and Israel. Some countries in the region would like to have their own nuclear weapons like Libya, Algeria, Iran, Iraq, and Syria to face Israeli nuclear power, which puts the region on the edge of a nuclear war. The effects of such a conflict would extend to other regions of the world, and effect the international peace as a whole. This factor should be

¹⁰Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Published by Prentice Hall 1991)
P 244.

considered a motive by the international community to reach a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

c. The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) weapons:

The CIS has a large arsenal full of several kinds of conventional and non-conventional weapons ready for sale, and they need money very badly. At the same time there are some countries in the region like Iran, Iraq, Algeria and Libya who want to purchase those weapons, and have enough money for that. This will increase proliferation of weapons of all kinds, and will effect stability and security in the region.

14. In the Gulf Crisis the international community supported Kuwait and insisted on implementing the Security Council's resolution against Iraq by all means including armed force. That is what happened, in a very short time, with the participation of thirty one countries in the coalition forces. This put the international community and the United States in an embarrassing light in the eyes of the Arab world concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel has disregarded most of the Security Council resolutions since 1948 till now, but the US and the international community has not taken a strict position with Israel to force it to obey these resolutions. Because of America's position in the new unipolar world, the role of taking initiatives to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict has fallen to the USA. Accordingly the US and USSR sponsored a peace conference between the Arabs and Israel, which took place in Madrid on 30 October 1991.

15. Concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict, there are two choices to establish the stability of the region; the first choice, depends on the ability of Israel to impose its will and a political accomplished fact on the Arabs, and to act as a policeman in the region who punishes all who exceed Israeli drawn rules and borders. This is the choice that Israel supports, but it is an unacceptable choice for the international community because it is against international law, plus Israel doesn't have enough power to allow it to control all the countries of the region. The second choice is to establish a lasting, just and comprehensive peace based on UN resolutions. This choice is the best choice and the more reasonable since it comes with international legitimacy and at the same time, it solves the problem at its roots. This then, allows peace and stability in the region.

16. THE BASES OF BUILDING PEACE IN THE REGION

a. From the very beginning, peace has to be built with the conviction of all parties of the importance of achieving it, and that the solution shouldn't be imposed on any side.

b. Peace must be based on the recognition of equality of all the countries, and depends on international law and the resolutions of the Security Council to reach a solution acceptable to all parties.

c. Settling the political borders according to the international law is in the favor of all because secure borders are peaceful borders. Territories occupied by force are not.

d. The principle of "Land for Peace" is important, since the Arabs won't sign a peace treaty without the return of their occupied territories. In addition, the occupation of territories by force is opposed by international law.

e. Solving the Palestinian problem, which means admitting the rights of Palestinians to decide their own fate and their right to a home land.

f. All parties should respect human rights and the rights of all the countries in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

g. The countries in the region should eliminate their weapons of mass destruction or at least agree on a system to supervise and control these weapons.

h. Arabs and Israelis should establish good relations and cooperate with one another to overcome the problems of the region.

PART III

EFFECT ON A NEW WORLD ORDER

17. After the termination of the cold war with the collapse of the USSR, the United States became the only Superpower that is able to effect events and control international matters. It therefore had to speed up and frame the idea of a new international system, present it to the international community for study, make necessary alterations, and approve it.

18. President George Bush framed the idea of the new world order as follows:

A new world order is not a fact; it is an aspiration and an opportunity. We have within our grasp an extraordinary possibility that few generations have enjoyed - to build a new international system in accordance with our own values and ideals, as old patterns and certainties crumble around us.

In the Gulf we caught a glimmer of a better future, a new world community brought together by a growing consensus that force cannot be used to settle disputes and that when that consensus is broken, the world will respond. In the Gulf, we saw the United Nations playing the role dreamed of by its founders, with the world's leading nations orchestrating and sanctioning collective action against aggression. But we remain in a period of transition. The old has been swept away, the new not yet fully in place. The obstacles and uncertainties before us are quite real-the daunting problems confronting the hopes for reform in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, trade disputes and burden sharing debates among the industrial democracies, and the turmoil and dangers in

the developing world.

Yet the Gulf crisis showed what the world community is now capable of, and in the very act of meeting that challenge the world community strengthened itself. I hope history will record that the Gulf crisis was the crucible of the new world order.

It is up to us, our generation in America and the world - to bring these extraordinary possibilities to fruition. And in doing this, American leadership is indispensable. That is our challenge.

Our response, outlined in this report, is shaped by what we are as a people, for our values are the link between our past and our future, between our domestic life and our foreign policy, between our power and our purpose. It is our deepest belief that all nations and peoples seek political and economic freedom; that governments must rest their rightful authority on the consent of the governed, and must live in peace with their neighbors. The collapse of the Communist idea has shown that our vision of individual rights, a vision imbedded in the faith of our Founders, speaks to humanity's enduring hopes and aspirations.

It is this abiding faith in democracy that steels us to deal with a world that, for all our hope, remains a dangerous place, a world of ethnic antagonisms, national rivalries, religious tensions, spreading weaponry, personal ambitions and lingering authoritarianism. For America, there can be no retreat from the world's problem. Within the broader community of nations, we see our own role clearly. We must not only protect our citizens and our interests, but help create a new world in which our fundamental values not only survive but flourish. We must work with others, but we must also be a leader.¹¹

¹¹The White House, National Security Strategy of the United States (Washington DC, US Government Printing Office, August 1991) P V.

19. President Bush mentioned in the previous report that there is a possibility to build the new world system in accordance with the American values that depend on:

- a. Right of Self-Determination, and Human Rights;
- b. Religious, Political, and Economic freedom;
- c. Peaceful change in international environment;
- d. Tolerance of opposing views.

20. Being the only superpower confers upon the US rights and responsibilities such as:

- a. Lead the new world;
- B. Apply the American values to the new world system;
- c. Replace confrontation and competition for power with world cooperation;
- d. Work to achieve a peaceful settlement of regional disputes in cooperation with the international and regional organizations;
- e. Solidarity against aggression in cooperation with international and regional organizations;
- f. Work to reduce and control arms;
- g. Treat all countries justly;
- h. Strengthen the international organizations and support them in the implementation of their resolutions in cooperation with the international community;

21. President Bush followed his first initiative with several others. One was to reduce the number of mass destruction weapons

internationally by decreasing the nuclear arsenal in both the USA and the USSR. Most of the countries of the world responded to this initiative, but unfortunately, some countries such as Israel did not.

22. On January 31, 1992 a summit conference was held for the countries that are members of the UN Security Council to discuss and approve the main principles of the New World Order, and assure that these principles should be based on international law under the umbrella of the United Nations. The importance of holding this conference appears in the agreement of the majority of the world's leaders on the necessity of energizing the role of the international organization. As expected, the main concentration was on the subject of peace and security without forgetting an important fact, which is that peace gives hope of a more secure, just and human world.

23. The new world order is newly born, and its features are not clear yet; but it's principles have been applied successfully in the Gulf Crisis. International society condemned the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait, and supported international efforts to implement Security Council resolutions. The liberation of Kuwait and restoration of its sovereignty, and international opposition to Iraqi aggression, are important indications as to the direction international society is going to take in the future.

24. The new world order is facing now, in its time of birth, a hard test in the Middle East: the ability of that system to come up with a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The corner stones of this conflict are the status of occupied territories, and the rights of the Palestinians to live in peace on their land and decide their own fate. Since the New World Order is based on law, peace, and justice, the credibility of this system will be defined on the results of this test. Either it will be able to solve the problems, or it will be just ink on paper. It might be applied according to the desires of the strong on behalf of the weak, or it might be a system to serve the interests of some powers against others. It might be a reason to interfere in the internal affairs of states to the favor of others. In this case, it will not be a new world order but a new world disorder.

PART IV

IMPACT ON US STRATEGY FOR THE REGION

25. By the end of World War II the US recognized the strategic importance of the Middle East, and the United States built its strategy for the region to protect its interests which was explained in part II. The main features of this strategy were as follows:

a. Achieve a permanent and effective American military presence in the region. This is accomplished through the existence of the American fleets, and working to obtain the needed facilities for these fleets in the ports of the Mediterranean and the Red Seas by making agreements with the friendly countries that overlook these waters. The primary reliance on naval forces was a result of the view that the presence of ground forces might enrage the inhabitants of the countries of the region.

b. Increasing strategic mobility in order to increase the military abilities to support its military presence in the region; whether to protect its own interests or to support friendly countries. To achieve this, the United States established the Rapid Deployment Force which later became the Central Command (CENTCOM). CENTCOM has increased its air and sealift capabilities.

c. Periodic training exercises in the region in order to get accustomed to the land, the sea, and the air conditions of the region; to practice use of the local facilities; to have common

training with the forces of the friendly countries; and to exercise joint doctrine.

d. The prestoring of heavy equipment needed for forces that are transported by air, or ships, and the making of treaties with friendly countries such as the strategic cooperation treaty with Israel, has the goal of facilitating the arrival and deployment of American forces in the region, and the storage and repair of American equipment and weapons. (FYI, the United States did not benefit from the treaty with Israel during the Gulf Crisis, since the Arab countries refused to use any Israeli facilities or allow Israeli interference in the operations).

e. Assuring the security and survivability of Israel by offering political, economical and military support to guarantee the strategic military balance in the region in Israeli favor.

f. The protection of American prestige through disciplinary strikes, such as the strike against the Libyan missile bases in 1986, or by increasing the naval military presence such as the operation to secure the freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf against the Iranian threats (or through participating in joint operations such as against Iraq in 1991).

g. Stability in the region and prevention of Soviet influence in it, by supporting friendly and allied countries politically, economically and militarily, and working to solve regional disputes.

26. After the termination of the Cold War, the collapse of the

Soviet Union, and the Gulf Crisis, new factors added new interests for the United States in the region, and reduced the priority of former interests. These factors are detailed as follows:

a. The disappearance of the Soviet role as a competitor to the Western powers in the region, and the diminishing of its ideological influence, means the Soviet Union is no longer a threat to Western interests in the Middle East.

b. The strategic importance of Israel as an advanced force of the US in the region to face Soviet threats is reduced.

c. The end of the bipolar world system and the appearance of the unipolar world led to the importance of establishing a new world system that depends on international law, peace, justice, the balance of interests, the right of self-determination, and respect for human rights.

d. Some of the Arab regimes which were considered anti-west have moderated their positions.

27. President George Bush has specified the goals and interests of the United States in the nineties in the Middle East as follows:

a. Improve stability by pursuing equitable and verifiable arms control agreements, modernizing our strategic deterrent, developing systems capable of defending against limited ballistic-missile strikes, and enhancing appropriate conventional capabilities.

b. Prevent the transfer of military critical technologies and resources to hostile countries or groups, specially the spread of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

c. Ensure access to foreign markets, energy, mineral resources, the oceans and space.

d. Strengthen international institutions like the United Nations to make them more effective in promoting peace, world order and political, economic and social progress.

e. A stable and secure world, where political and economic freedom, human rights and democratic institutions flourish.

(1) Maintain stable military balance to deter those powers that might seek regional dominance;

(2) Promote diplomatic solutions to regional disputes;

(3) Promote the growth of free, democratic political institutions as the surest guarantors of both human rights and economic and social progress;

(4) Aid in combatting threats to democratic institutions from aggression, coercion, insurgencies, subversion, terrorism and illicit drug trafficking; and

(5) Support aid, trade and investment policies that promote economic development and social and political progress¹².

28. In the President's "Trends in the world today" the regional trends of the Middle East are:

a. We will help states in the Middle East to fashion regional security arrangements that bolster deterrence and encourage the peaceful resolution of disputes.

b. We will work with parties inside and outside the region to change the destructive pattern of military competition and proliferation. This will involve confidence-building and arms control measures as well as more global forms of control over the supply of arms, especially weapons of mass

¹²The White House, National Security Strategy of the United States (Washington DC, US Government Printing Office, August 1991) P.3&4.

destruction and the means to deliver them.

c. We will encourage economic reconstruction and recovery, using the political and economic strengths of the victorious coalition to support economic openness and cooperation. We will also encourage regional states to evolve toward greater political participation and respect for human rights.

d. We will continue the effort to bring about a comprehensive peace and true reconciliation between Israel and the Arab states and between Israel and the Palestinians.

e. We will continue to demand that Iraq comply fully and unconditionally with all UN resolutions, including Security Council Resolution 687 and its stipulation that Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile-related facilities be destroyed.

f. We remain open to an improved relationship with Iran. However meaningful improvement can only occur after Iran makes clear it is lending no support to hostage-taking or other forms of terrorism.

g. We will also continue to monitor Libyan behavior including terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and attempts to destabilize neighboring governments.¹³

29. Comparing between points d & e from the Middle East trends:

a. Point "d" shows a US conviction to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict peacefully and the recognition of Palestinian rights, but it doesn't mention anything about the UN or the Security Council resolutions concerning the conflict, the right of self

¹³The White House, National Security Strategy of the United States (Washington DC, US Government Printing Office, August 1991) P 10.

determination and home land for the Palestinians, or the control or observation of weapons of mass destruction.

b. Point "e", which concerns the Iraqi situation, is much stronger and decisive than point "d" because it emphasized the implementation of UN and Security Council resolutions and the destruction of the weapons of mass destruction.

30. Despite American support in the Middle East of international law and opposition to the annexation of territories by force, throughout the 25 years of Israeli occupation of Arab territories captured in the 1967 war the United States supported the Israelis politically, economically, and militarily. The US is always working to keep the military balance in the region in the favor of Israel¹⁴.

31. Americans are convinced of the importance of the stability of the Middle East for international peace, and that the Arab Israeli conflict is the crucial reason for instability in the region. Accordingly, American strategic goals call for a solution to regional conflicts by diplomatic means. The United States called Israel and the Arab countries to participate in a peace conference which was held in Madrid on October 30, 1991. President Bush gave an opening speech in which he assured the participant that the United States wants to establish a just, lasting, and comprehensive

¹⁴Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Published by Prentice Hall in 1991) Passim.

peace between the Arabs and Israel as he mentioned that negotiations should be based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. But he didn't mention the borders of 1967, when he called for compromise solutions:

Throughout the Middle East, we seek a stable and enduring settlement. We've not defined what this means. Indeed, I make these points with no map showing where the final borders are to be drawn. Nevertheless, we believe territorial compromise is essential for peace. Boundaries should reflect the quality of both security and political arrangements. The United States is prepared to accept whatever the parties themselves find acceptable. What we seek as I said on March 6, is a solution that meets the twin tests of fairness and security.

Concerning the Palestinian problem he said:

For Israel and the Palestinians, a frame work already exists for diplomacy. Negotiations will be conduct in phases, beginning with talks on interim self-government arrangements. We aim to reach agreement within one year. And once agreed, interim self-government arrangement will last for five years. Beginning the third year, negotiations will commence on permanent status. No one can say with any precision what the end result will be. In our view, something must be developed, something acceptable to Israel, the Palestinians, and Jordan, that gives the Palestinian people meaningful control over their own lives and fate and provides for the acceptance and security of Israel.¹⁵

There wasn't a word mentioned on establishing a Palestinian home land.

32. From the foregoing it is obvious that the changes and alterations that were forced by the international changes on the

¹⁵a. President George Bush speech, Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper Vol 14 No 4720, October 31, 1991, P. 6 & 7.

b. Weekly Compilation Presidential Documents, Volume 27 NUMBER 44, November 4, 1991, Pp 1543-1546.

American Strategies for the Middle East is positive in general, but the American situation should be more decisive and clear especially concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the absence of a decisive role, the United States may lose its credibility as a friendly country to the countries in the region and as a super power that could solve the conflicts of the region.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this paper, the factors effecting the peace and stability of the Middle East were studied, in order to reach the bases of building peace between the Arabs and Israel. How peace effects the new world order and the American strategy for the region were also considered.

THE CONCLUSIONS FOR THIS STUDY ARE AS FOLLOWS:

33. The Middle East region has several elements of power. It has great economic capability, international political influence, and a special strategic and geographic location that controls the most important sea routes and choke points in the world. Because of these attributes the region was of great strategic importance for outside powers who competed to control the region to secure their vital interests in it. This competition used all ways and means to achieve these goals, and to assure the subjection of these countries and their economic, military, ideological and political dependency on them.

34. The strategic importance of the Middle East exposes the region to several internal and external threats that can be

simplified as follows:

a. Regional threats

These threats come from the competition between the interests, goals, and strategies of the countries of the region. Potential regional conflicts are as follows:

(1) The Arab-Israeli conflict is expected to continue as long as a lasting, comprehensive, just peace is not established between the Arabs and Israel. This conflict is considered the main threat to the peace and stability of the region;

(2) An Iranian ideological threat seeks to spread extremist religious thoughts and export the Iranian revolution to the Arab countries in the region. Iran also opposes any efforts to establish peace between the Arabs and Israel;

(3) Border disputes between several countries in the region differs in their intensity, but sometimes reaches military confrontation;

(4) Internal conflicts, in some countries of the region;

(5) Minority problems and especially the Kurdish problem in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran;

(6) The arms race among the countries of the region, including conventional and unconventional weapons.

b. International Threats

These threats arise from the realization of the outside powers as to the strategic importance of the region whether because of the special geographic location or because of its several resources

(especially oil). These powers compete to control the region through forcing their political and ideological influence and economic control on the largest number of countries. They also gain military bases and facilities to secure their military control on the region and their vital interests in it.

35. Other challenges can reach the same importance as threats in effecting the stability and security of the region:

a. Overcoming the psychological wall and the conflict between the Arabs and Israel to achieve the peace in the region.

b. Economic development for the region in general and especially for the poor countries.

c. Solving the water problem and putting just rules for the usage and distribution of the water in the region.

d. Supervising the conventional and unconventional weapons among the countries of the region.

36. Accordingly the importance of establishing peace and stability in the region through solving the main problem, which is the Arab-Israeli conflict, has emerged. Therefore, the USA held a peace conference between the Arabs and Israel in Madrid on October 30, 1991. During the conference, the understanding of peace from the Israeli and Arabs point of view emerged. The Arabs understand peace as a result of the improvement of the atmosphere with Israel, but this cannot occur until Israel gives a schedule of withdrawal from the Arab territories that were occupied since 1967. Then the

Arabs can sign a peace treaty and establish normal relations with Israel, applying the rule of "land for peace". On the other hand, Israel insists on applying the rule of "peace for peace" and also insists that holding the occupied territories is necessary for the security and survivability of Israel¹⁶.

37. The peace negotiations have started, and without regard to the time that it will take or the difficulties that it will face. These negotiations must reach a just, comprehensive settlement in the end. And if the conference doesn't establish this goal, the region might return not only to the situation before the conference, but to a bloody stage between the Arabs and Israel. That failure will be the failure of the new world order in its first test. This failure will influence the credibility of the US as an unique super power and as a leader of the new world system. Because of that, the international community must get together under the leadership of the US and the umbrella of the UN, to work on the success of this conference by applying international law, returning rights to their owners, and guaranteeing all the countries of the region the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

¹⁶Clyde Haberman, New settlement emphasizes Israel's claim on golan, (The Patriot News November 5 1991) P A6; Peter Copeland, Israel tries to sidestep official ball, (The Patriot News, December 5. 1991) P A10.

RECOMMENDATIONS

38. For Achieving Peace:

a. The conviction of all sides of the importance of peace and not trying to impose peace by any side.

b. All sides must agree with the philosophy that the peace conference is held for three goals to be dealt with in successive stages. These are breaking the psychological wall between the two sides, agreeing on the return of rights to their owners according to international law, and the arranging of relations between the negotiating sides.

c. Building the solution upon international law and the resolutions of the Security Council (numbers 242 & 338) and the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories that were occupied due to or after the 1967 War. These territories are the West Bank, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and South Lebanon.

d. A just solution for the Palestinians. This means to give the Palestinians the right of self-determination which includes independence and establishing their own home land, or being connected to another country if they want that.

e. To speed the establishment of peace, the US must insist that all the countries of the region should implement and respect the U.N. Resolutions. At the same time the US should be just with all the countries of the region.

39. For Keeping Peace:

a. Sign a peace treaty between the Arabs and Israel by which

all sides promise to abide. This treaty should be guaranteed by the United Nations and the USA.

b. Establish normal relations between the Arabs and Israel according to a schedule that goes along with Israeli withdrawal from the Arab occupied territories.

c. Countries of the region should cooperate to overcome regional problems like arms control (especially the weapons of mass destruction), organizing the bases and rules for regional security, solving the water problem and arrange the just distribution of it, and deal with issues of refugees, the environment, and the economic development.

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